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For information on the Turkic Peoples of Afghanistan, see AU1 Afghanistan, 7: Jarring, category 116, complete text, with reference to the Index of Tribes and Peoples, pp. 84 - 91.

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101 177 physically and culturally become Iranized. Considering also that they settled in the country which already in the time of the *Avesta* bore the name Iran (as opposed to Turan), there is ample justification for calling them the *Iranian Turks*.

The other group consists of the Turks—many of them called Tatars—of the Steppe country, Southern Siberia, Jungaria, and Northern Mongolia, including the Altai and Sayan Mountains. Thanks to the geographical structure of the country, these Turks have been more shut off from foreign influence than the first group, though they have always been to a certain extent under obligations to the culture of China, and lately to that of Russia also. These may be called the *Turanian Turks*.

162 The Eastern Turks in Asiatic Russia number altogether some eight millions,[1] of which the Iranian Turks account for about six millions. The Iranian Turks form 92 per cent. of the population of Turkestan. [177] Out of the 60 per cent. of Turkic population in the Caspian Steppe country, about one-third may be regarded as Iranized.

The Turanian Turks form an unimportant percentage among the Russian, Mongols, and Chinese in the midst of whom they live; their number in south-western

[1] The statistics here given concerning the Turks of the Russian State are based on the census of 1897 and an additional local census of 1911. See *Asiatic Russia*, edited by the Immigration Committee, St. Petersburg, 1914, vol. I. It should be noted, however, that the later census shows an increase over the earlier one greater than can be accounted for by a natural increase in the birth-rate. This is probably due to the fact that the census of 1911 was carried out by more careful observers. It is more reliable as far as linguistic grouping goes, but its estimates of the number of people professing Russian Orthodoxy are less correct.

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Siberia scarcely reaches half a million, and yet this is the region which has been a centre of gravity for the old Turkic culture. So if for political interest we must look to the Iranian Turks, for ethnological problems we turn chiefly to these other Turks, who are the truest Turanians.

Language.

Preparatory to dealing with the separate nations of which these two groups are composed, it will be necessary to pass in review the linguistic and religious position of all the Eastern Turks in Asia, for it seems that in many cases these two factors are the only guides by which we can arrive at the definition of a Turk.

According to Professor Beresin and the Turkic-Tatar scholar Mirza Kasem Beg,[1] the Turkic or Turko-Tatar languages may be divided as follows:

1. Jagatai (Chagatai),
2. Tatar,
3. Turkish.

The Jagatai and Tatar languages, with their many dialects, have closer resemblances between themselves than either of them have with the Turkish. The Turkish language is used by the Western Turks, and consists of the following dialects:

(*a*) Derbent,
(*b*) Aberdjan (Azerbeijan),
(*c*) Crimean,
(*d*) Anatolian,
(*e*) Rumelian (Constantinople). } [Osmanly.]

Of the other two, Jagatai appears to be the older, and

[1] Mirza A. Kasem Beg, transl. Dr. J. T. Zenker, *Allgemeine Grammatik der Türkisch-Tatarischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1848, pp. xi–xiii.

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asceticism.[1] In a way, they play the rôle of Calvinists in the Mahometan world; on the other hand, the influence of Buddhism still remains in the towns, while in the mountains and steppes there still lives a strong animistic cult, sometimes intermixed with Mahometanism.

Mahometanism, though introduced among the upper classes in the tenth century, did not spread among the masscs of Turkestan until the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and it is now known that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christianity, especially Nestorian Christianity, was a great rival of Mahometanism in the western part of Turkestan.

The people of the eastern part of Turkestan, especially the Kirghis and various descendants of the Uigur, were never great adherents of Mahometanism. In general, it is the Sarts, the Usbegs, and the Tadjik who are the most devoted Mussulmans. Still, if we compare the number of Mahometans in Russian Central Asia in 1911 (8,223,982) with their number in 1897 (6,996,654), it appears that Mahometanism is still spreading in Turkestan, though its increase in Siberia is negligible (128,403 in 1911, against 126,587 in 1897). The nomads of the north-east—i. e. of Semirechie, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and Uralsk—have been but slightly affected by Mahometanism, and it is curious to know that some of the most Turkic sections of all the Eastern Turks, the Kaizak and the Kirghis, accepted it only after the Russian conquest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, assisted by the Russian officials! They still follow their customary law, *zang* (*ādat* in Arabian), and if they give it up it is to accept, not the Mahometan written law, *sheriat*,

[1] A. Vambéry, 'Muhammadanism in Asiatic Turkey', *E. R. E.*, 1915, pp. 885-8.

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others form a chorus. The feathered thread is the road by which the song rises to the sky. The meat which has been prepared on the 'senior fire' is taken out and carried round in a circle, in the direction of the sun. After that the meat, with all the articles used in its preparation, is burnt on the 'senior fire', and if the smoke goes straight to the sky it is a good omen for the clan. Then only is the meat which was prepared on the 'junior fire' ceremonially eaten, after which all the bones and remains of the feast have to be burnt on the 'senior fire'.[1]

Ethnography.

The Iranian Turks.

The question now arises, What Turkic nations go to form the group of Iranian Turks?

THE TURKOMANS. Their number in Persia, Khiva, and Bokhara is about 600,000. Of these 290,000 (in 1911, as against 248,000 in 1897) are in Transcaspian territory of Turkestan. Among the Turkomans subject to Russia must also be reckoned the Caucasian Turkomans, some 11,000.[2]

The Turkomans of Turkestan were subjugated by the Russians in 1881 after a stubborn resistance. The Russians put a stop to their slave trade, and from that time they began to be more settled and to take up agriculture. But even now a large proportion are still nomadic horse-breeders, adhering to the customary law

[1] S. D. Maynagasheff, 'Sacrifice to the Sky among the Beltir', *Literary Collection of the Anthropological Museum of the Acad. of Science*, Petrograd, 1915, vol. III, pp. 93–102.

[2] The Turkomans of the Ottoman Empire, commonly called Türkmen or Avshahr, are not dealt with here.

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105 (*ādat*). In religion they are now all Mahometans, in language they belong to the Jagatai Turks. Clan division is still fairly strict among them, and migrations are usually carried out in clans. Their custom of endogamy may be regarded as having as its object the preservation of the purity of their race from foreign admixture. Since the women are inferior in numbers to the men, the *kalym* or bride-price is very high, and in some places the unmarried men form 27 per cent. of the population. Their clans are nine in number, [618] two of them, however, being almost extinct. The chief clans are:

Chaudor, between Khiva and the Caspian;
Yomut, on the south shore of the Caspian, and in south-west Khiva;
Goklan, on Persian soil;
Akhal and *Merv Tekkes*, in the Akhal and Merv oases;
Sarik, on the middle Murgab;
Salor, round Merv and in northern Persia;
Ersari, on the middle Amu Daria, and near Khoya Salih.

[144] Though linguistically and politically classified as Turks, in all these people the Iranian type predominates, in culture as well as in physique.

[162] The Sarts (1,847,000 in 1911, as against 1,458,000 in 1897) live in the Ferghana and Syr Daria territories, and are also to be found sporadically in other parts of Turkestan.

[144] They are a mixture of the original Iranian inhabitants, the Tadjiks, with their Turanian conquerors, the Usbegs. In physical type they approach nearer to the Iranians. They live in villages, called *kishlak*, and their houses, called *sakla*, are made of a compound of wood and clay.

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Though engaged chiefly in commerce, they are also successful agriculturists. They know the use of *aryk* or irrigation canals, and are reputed to be the best cultivators of cotton and fruit plantations. On the whole there is only one people who surpass them as agriculturists, namely the Tadjiks,[1] who are supposed to be pure Iranians.

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The Sarts are Mahometans, Sunnites, many of them followers of the Sufi order. They adhere to the Mahometan written law (*sheriat*). They keep their women more strictly in seclusion than is the case among any other Turkic tribe. This is probably connected with the high degree of organization shown in their religious culture, which exceeds that of the other tribes.

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They have a great reverence for the Mussulman educational institutions usually to be found in connexion with the Sufi religious orders, and supported by public donations. There are three of these orders in Central Asia, the most ancient of them being in Ferghana. The educational institutions are divided into higher (*Medresse*) and lower (*Mektab*). Besides instruction in religious and legal subjects, the students are given some general knowledge based on mediaeval conceptions; thus Sart geography represents the world as being flat, and surrounded by mountains. In the lower

[1] The Tadjiks are the remnants of the old Aryan population of Central Asia, living chiefly in the Samarkand and Ferghana districts. In 1911 they numbered about 400,000, i. e. 67 per cent. of the total population. The Tadjiks living in the valleys and engaged in agriculture are now scarcely distinguishable in language and physique from their neighbours the Sarts, but the Mountain Tadjiks, or Galcha, are still using their Iranian language, and differ from the dark Turanians around them by reason of their light-coloured hair and skin.

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In contrast to the origin of the Usbegs and the Kaizak is the origin of the real Kirghis, by which is meant the Eastern or Yenisei Kirghis, called by the Russians the Burut-Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis. These have more right to be called Turanian Turks than the Kaizak, who may be said to stand between the two groups. They will therefore be dealt with under that head (Turanian).

The Kaizak live in the northern and eastern part of the Aral-Caspian basin, and in the Orenburg Steppes. Together with the Kara-Kirghis and some of the Yenisei Kirghis—i. e. all the people whom the Russians call Kirghis, and so include under one head in their census—they numbered 4,700,000 in 1911 as against 4,100,000 in 1897. Out of this total the non-Kaizak element may be reckoned at between 500,000 and 800,000 (in 1911). [162]

The Kaizak say that they are sprung from the Usbegs, and that the Kara-Kirghis are sprung from dogs, but the Kara-Kirghis call themselves brothers of the Kaizak, and are in fact probably related to them, since the Kaizak have recruited themselves not only from the Usbegs but also from other Turkic states.

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The Kaizak were divided by their Khan Tiavka in the thirteenth century into three 'hordes', called Ordas. This was done for administrative purposes, but since the death of Tiavka the history of each orda runs independently.

The ordas are:

1. Ulugh-yūz (Ulu-jus) or Great Orda, living in the neighbourhood of the rivers Chu and Talas, and subdivided into the Abdan and Dolat tribes.
2. Urta-yūz (Urta-jus) or Middle Orda, living between the rivers Tobol and Irtish and the Syr Daria,

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among the Seykym clan of the Kaizak, whose *uran* is also 'Seykym'.

Though the Kaizak belong geographically to the Iranized Turks, culturally they have on the whole much affinity with the Mongols. The majority are still nomadic cattle and horse breeders. Their method of cattle-keeping is a most luxurious one. They leave the cattle on the pastures the whole year round, hence their only care is to find a fresh pasture every season. The spring and autumn pastures may be the same. It is only recently, since more of the land has been claimed by the Russian Immigration Committee, that the Kaizak have begun to lay up winter stores for their cattle. Each clan has defined limits to its pasture lands. Under the old Russian system the pasture land used by the Kaizak belonged to the State, and they were granted the use of it, dividing it at their communal gatherings according to the number of people, cattle, and vehicles in each class. The permanent houses, gardens, arable land, and irrigation canals are hereditary.[1]

It is curious to note that the Kaizak, whose dwellings are so light and portable, bury their dead in solid structures of wood, clay, and brick. This custom also exists among the Kara-Kirghiş, and was known to the old Yenisei-Kirghis. As it is not found among the non-Turkic population of Central Asia, it seems to indicate that those who practise it now are perhaps the nearest relatives of the people who built the old burial mounds of the Yenisei, called *kurgans*.

THE KARA-KALPAK ('Black Caps'), another Turkic tribe of the same group (134,313 in 1911 as against 111,799 in 1897), live in the Amu Daria district of the

[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 159.

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Syr Daria Territory, in the Kokand district of the Ferghana Territory, and some 20,000 in the Khanate of Khiva.

Half of them are settled agriculturists, the rest are still nomad cattle-breeders, their pasture lands being, however, more strictly fixed than among the Kaizak. Some of them are also engaged in trading. Of all the Kirghis group their language is the most nearly related to that of the Western Turks.[1]

This may be explained by the fact that they belong to the stream of Turks who participated in the westward migration some ten centuries ago.

Speaking of the origin of the Kara-Kalpak or Chornyie Klobuki, as they were called in Kieff-Russia, P. Golubowski[2] says that they were a mixture of Ghuz Turks, Pyechenyeg, and others, and that they formed that remnant of the Ghuz Turks who remained in Russia when the new wave of Turkic invaders from Asia—the Polovtsy—drove the other part of their tribe across the Danube. The remnants of the Ghuz, together, possibly, with other Turks, settled on the Russian borderlands, accepted Christianity, and were known as the Kara-Klobuk (Kara-Kalpak), while some of them moved back to Asia, and, according to V. Moshkoff, about 70,000 of them live until now in Bessarabia under the name of Ghaghauzy (Gagauzy).[3] Whether the Kara-Kalpak not living in Asia are the same as the Kara-

[1] A. Maksimoff, 'The Kara-Kalpak', vol. XXIII, p. 454, of the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, ed. Jeleznoff.

[2] *The Pyechenyegi, the Torki and the Polovtsy until the Tatar Invasion*, Kieff, 1884, p. 151.

[3] V. Moshkoff, *Examples of the Folk-Literature of the Turkic Tribes*, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. xxii.

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101 to their geographical distribution: the 'Baraba Tatars', the 'Altaians', the 'Abakan Tatars', and so on.

The *Yakut*, who are now the northernmost branch of Turkic-speaking people, live along the River Lena right up to the Arctic shore, and in the region between the Lena
• [162] and the Yenisei as far south as Lake Baikal. They are superior in numbers to all the 'Siberian Tatars' taken together. In 1911 they numbered 245,000, as against 225,000 in 1897, while the 'Tatars' numbered 208,000 in 1911, plus some 4,000 people classed by the Russian officials as 'Turks of undefined nationality', as against 175,000 in 1897, plus some 3,000 'Turks of undefined nationality'.[1]

233 [178] Under the influence of their new environment[2] the Yakut have been driven to take up reindeer-breeding and a nomadic tundra life, but in their social and religious institutions survivals of the more settled conditions of their southern home are still to be seen.[3]

Of all the Turks of Asia the Yakut are the most typical representatives of what may be spoken of as 'reindeer-culture'.[4] The reindeer is to this region what the horse is to the Central Asian steppe-nomads. It supplies food, clothes, bone-implements, and is used for draught work. But while the people who have been living for a long time at the stage of reindeer-culture, such as the Koryak of the north-east or the Samoyed of the north-west, never use reindeer for riding, the Yakut ride their reindeer as their ancestors rode the horse, a practice which is looked upon with disfavour

[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, pp. 79–80.

[2] See p. 41.

[3] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, pp. 107, 277, 297.

[4] B. Laufer, 'The Reindeer and its Domestication', *Mem. of the Amer. Anthrop. Assoc.*, vol. IV, No. 2, 1917.

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while they are more primitive and intellectually inferior to the ruling Afghans, they are physically very sturdy and brave, and their honest and simple natures, free from all fanaticism, give them an attractive personality. Those who have taken service in the Indian army and in railroad construction are almost as highly spoken of as the Gurkhas of Nepal, whom they also resemble physically. Outside of their own mountain fastnesses in the Hazarajat, where they are today relatively undisturbed, they supply most of the unskilled labor for road building etc., and their position differs but little from that of serfs. In the Afghan army they have been organized into several battalions of sappers and miners.

Aside from their distinctly Mongolian type the Hazaras—at least the western clans—may be readily recognized by their small conical headdress of bright-colored calico, lined with fur or sheepskin which forms a fringe around the edge.

F. CHAHAR AYMAKS (250,000).

These are four semipastoral tribes of northwestern Afghanistan closely related to the Hazaras, but belonging to the Sunni persuasion. Like the Hazaras they are of pure Tartar or Mongolian origin and possess all the physical and mental attributes of their kinsmen further to the south. But being less numerous and less fiercely independent than the Hazaras they never had to suffer so much at the hands of the central government, especially as they appear to have become Sunnis (with some exceptions) at an early period. They speak either Turki or Persian dialects, and even a mixture of both.

(a) The *Taimanis* (160,000) are the most numerous of these four tribes. They occupy the Ghorat, i. e., the mountains between the Hari Rud and the Ghor, where the medieval Kingdom of Ghor (10th–13th centuries A. D.) must have been located. They are not exclusively nomads, but also cultivators of the soil. Intermarriage has slightly modified the original Mongolian type. Their dress is more like that of the Tajiks than the Hazaras, and they wear the turban. Their language is largely Turki.

(b) *Firozkohis* (50,000) roam the entire watershed of the Murghab River, north of the Band-i-Baba Range. They are said to have come from the Firoz-koh mountain (near Samnan, in North Persia) although they look more Mongolian than the other Aymaks. They speak Persian and wear a turban like the Uzbegs.

(c) *Jamshedis* (20,000) are found in the district of Badghis, between the Hari Rud and the Russian frontier. They have a reputation for intelligence, honesty, and good horsemanship. Although they dress like the Uzbegs and speak Turki they differ from them by wearing the sheepskin hat.

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(d) *Taimuris* (15,000) are an unimportant tribe, a large section of whom migrated to Persian Khorassan, where there are now fully as many as in Afghanistan. They speak Persian and many of them are Shiahs.

G. UZBEGS (750,000).

The Uzbegs are the principal inhabitants of the provinces of Afghan Turkestan and Badaksban. They are called *Turkmen* by the other Afghans and are a pure Tartar race, like the Turkomans of the rest of Central Asia. Their language is Turki and they differ from their kinsmen in Transoxiana only in that they wear a small turban instead of the sheepskin hat of the Turkomans proper. They wear long, many-colored striped coats and high knee-boots of untanned leather. Most of the Afghan cavalry is recruited from them.

H. KIZILBASHIS (100,000).

Though numerically not one of the great tribes of Afghanistan the Kizilbashis (lit. "Red-Heads") are an influential element. The term was formerly applied as a nickname by the orthodox Sunnis to all Persians in Anatolia and Central Asia, presumably because of red caps they wore. In Afghanistan the name has become almost synonymous with *Shiah*. The Kizilbashis were originally natives of North Persia and only came to Afghanistan with the armies of Nadir Shah in 1737. Some 25,000 of them are still found in the city of Kabul alone, where they occupy the Chandawal quarter, the most prosperous looking part of the town. The rest of the tribe are found in some of the villages of the province of Kabul and of the Ghazni district. Although they have Tartar features they have ceased to be a pure race by intermarrying freely with other tribes. They are known for their intelligence and education, and—not unlike the Greeks and Armenians before their expulsion from Asia Minor—they supply most of the men with professional training or skill. Positions of secretaries, clerks, and interpreters, or of foremen and overseers, are usually held by them, and they even occasionally rise to high office in the government service. Curiously enough they also make excellent soldiers and—with the Uzbegs—furnish much of the Amir's best cavalry. Their position is all the more remarkable because they are handicapped by being Shiahs and therefore disliked by the ruling classes.

I. KAFIRS (70,000).

This interesting tribe is in a class by itself, having practically no ties of either race or religion with the other inhabitants of the country. They are wild, semibarbarous mountaineers inhabiting a